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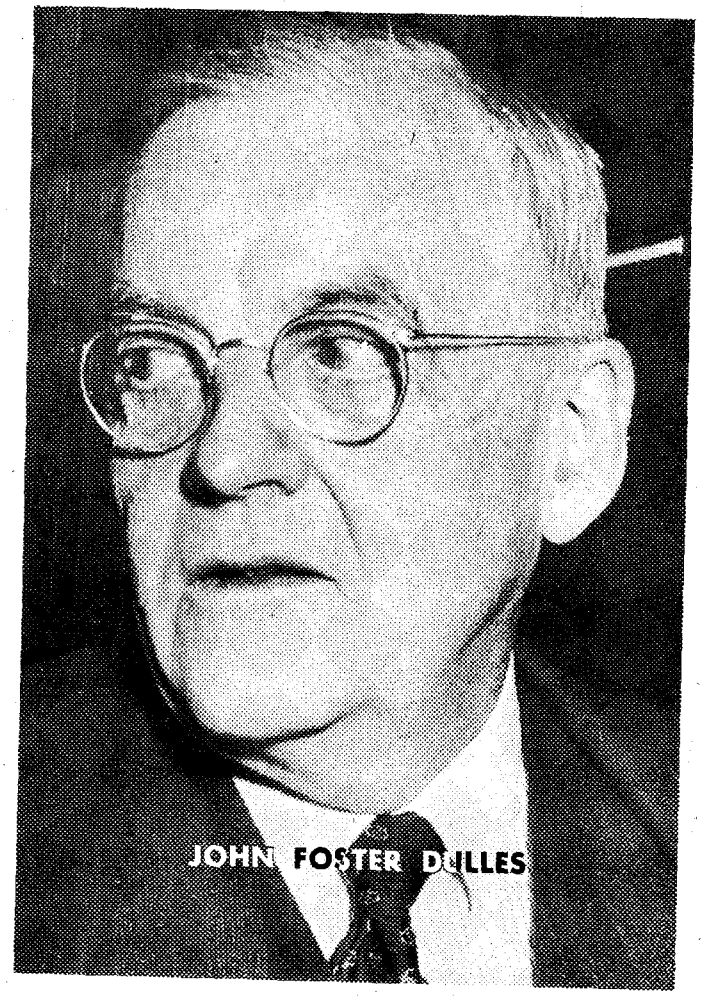
The Arts in Italy

New Republic

CHOU EN-LAI


JOHN FOSTER DULLES

CHINA AND THE U.S.

What Chou En-lai and Dulles will seek in the Korean Conference—Red China and the UN—The danger of "going-it-alone."

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T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

The Administration suddenly cut interest rates on a Treasury note issue last week. There has been mounting criticism of the Treasury's hard-money policy. The Treasury said its action had nothing to do with the criticism.

Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson unexpectedly ordered a probe of middlemen's profits. There has been mounting farm criticism at the spread between growers' and consumers' prices. (The GOP blocked a probe in Congress.) Benson denied his action was prompted by farm criticism.

Assistant Secretary of Commerce Craig Sheaffer, the fountain pen man who fired Bureau of Standards Chief Astin in the AD-X2 battery additive row, suddenly resigned. Dr. Astin (whom Sheaffer fired) has been reinstated. The Sheaffer departure had nothing to do with the AD-X2 matter, Commerce officials insist.

Mr. Eisenhower last week revived a Point Four policy board that has been dormant since last November. There has been gathering criticism, especially among church groups, over the shelving of Truman's Point Four. "A spokesman for the Board said today, however, that the White House action had no connection with this criticism . . ."—Charles Egan, writing in the NY *Times*, September 27.

What does all this mean? Just that the Administration is getting a mite twitchy. Ike's six weeks stay in Denver plus two earlier shorter vacations, plus infrequent press conferences (just 14 in eight months), plus obvious Democratic optimism are having effect. The calm air of dignified silence is passing. Last week every member of the Cabinet except Wilson made a public address, and so did Ike and Nixon.

We had a notion all would not be happy at the White House pressroom among reporters who accompanied Ike to Boston for his $100-a-plate dinner. This was the nationally broadcast speech extolling the Republican Party, which the ecstatic NY *Herald-Tribune* said was couched in "steel-like" and "exciting and memorable words" but which columnist David Lawrence examined on the next page to ask Ike's secret of managing to get more out of the thing than "the same platitudes uttered by someone else." The pro-Eisenhower Washington *Star* had the same note of wonder, observing that "most men in public life would be hard pressed to sustain a high degree of popularity with such a thin diet as this."

Sure enough, pressroom comment was explosive. Speech texts, we learned, were passed out as the plane left Westover Field, Massachusetts (after the Springfield appearance). Like weasels hunting a hare, the trained newsmen ruffled the pages for the "lead." As the plane roared toward Boston a look of incredulity came into their eyes. They thumbed through it again. One after another glanced at neighbors in wild surprise. Here was a speech based on the tenets of so-called "inspirational" advertisement; an achievement of the first order in 165 years of American politics—2,500 words without a lead! As one correspondent put it, "We were sunk. It was the damnedest thing. All those words. Finally we all glommed on to the idea that 'no sacrifice too great' meant he might ask higher taxes. Imagine giving that to Republicans who've spent $100 for a plate of rubber chicken!" We commented that one reporter, more imaginative than the rest, had built his piece round the idea Ike was hitting back at the Democrats. "Ye-ah," observed our informant, "you shoulda seen his first four tries!"

Did you ever stop to think of the end results of certain federal "economies" in human terms? We live in a complex, competitive economy in which political scientists generally agree certain economic classes must have state protection. But in many a community today this protection is weakened or withdrawn. A slum fire in Chicago killed 18 persons; Mayor Kennelly said the area in which the fire took place "was condemned, but clearance was blocked by the federal government." Under Federal Housing Administrator Albert Cole, public housing has been cut from 75,000 to 20,000 units for 1954, and to none for 1955. An inconspicuous item in a Washington paper says "every service" of the local health department "except tuberculosis has been curtailed because of lack of funds." There was an emergency "home-maker service" to aid indigent sick and children in the absence of the mother, usually in maternity cases, the paper continued. This has been dropped. The federal government is "economizing." Look around your own community and you can note small instances of the same result. Of course, America's biggest "economy" of all is in public schools: how nice it is to think of all those billions we are saving through congested classrooms and underpaid teachers.

We have been mulling over the inwardness of the Eisenhower-AFL rift. It seems to us Ike's simple and honest philosophy was that a man of good will could take over Washington from the bad people who were running it and easily banish waste, inefficiency and the federal deficit by bringing in lofty sentiments and a Charlie Wilson team. Things looked as simple as his campaign speeches. Basic to this was the idea that Ike could rally God-fearing people of all descriptions behind him. His philosophy tended to ignore the fact that some selfish people don't want social amelioration at their own expense, and that they can quote Scripture too. Ike's chance of success probably rested on organizing a middle party, breaking away from GOP extremists on one side and splitting off chunks of liberal support on the other. Martin Durkin's appointment was intended to wean over the AFL from the CIO to the "middle party." Now the soup's in the fire. Very likely the Durkin affair was inevitable. We have a hunch America's liberal movement will always be fairly close to the trade unions, voicing the hopes of consumers and little men and wage earners. We doubt if Ike realizes where his identification with tycoons and millionaires is taking him. But anyway the Durkin resignation puts an end to the matter.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Democratic Rumblings

THE MOVERS and shakers of the Democratic Party are assuming among themselves that Democratic National Chairman Steve Mitchell will be replaced before the 1954 campaign gets underway. Adlai Stevenson is being quoted as expressing private concern over the reports of lack of confidence in Mitchell which have come to him. He is known to have discussed possible successors in several confidential talks and to be sounding out opinion on the acceptability of Michael DiSalle of Ohio, Federal Price Stabilizer under Truman.

DiSalle has made it clear to the Governor that he wants no part of any move to unseat Mitchell but that if the job of Chairman falls open, he will be interested in it. The Harriman wing of the New York Democratic Party, newly powerful since the nomination of Robert Wagner Jr., has recommended DiSalle to Stevenson. But certain of the old-line National Committeemen are at best lukewarm toward DiSalle.

The replacement of Mitchell would have been openly proposed at the Chicago National Committee meeting but for the pacifying efforts of such influential men as Sen. Earle Clements of Kentucky and Clinton Anderson of New Mexico. If another Committee meeting is held in mid-December, that agitation will recur—with most candidates ruled out for reasons of health, business or both, and DiSalle thereby in strong position.

Anti-Trust Precedent

SIX YEARS after the original complaint was filed, Federal Judge Harold R. Medina has dismissed a government anti-trust suit against 17 leading investment banking firms. The ruling made it unnecessary for the defendants to enter a defense.

The government charged that such firms as Kuhn and Loeb, Goldman and Sachs and Dillon and Read, had agreed not to compete for one another's customers and to freeze out competition for the underwriting of new securities. Federal lawyers pointed out that many members of the indicted investment houses also served on the boards of directors of customer firms. They showed that the defendants controlled 68.9 percent of all the securities issued in the US between 1938 and 1947. If the government had won, drastic changes in the business methods of investment banks would have followed. As it is, the old methods are vindicated unless the government appeals to the Supreme Court and wins.

Although Judge Medina's handling of this case has received warm approbation from the victors, it has also been hotly condemned. At one point in the trial in October, 1952, government attorneys felt impelled to state on the record that if their case should be defeated, they considered that Judge Medina's conduct of the trial alone constituted valid grounds for appeal. The government did not have a strong case. But if there is any substance whatever to the charge that the Judge allowed his well-known economic philosophy unduly to influence his handling of the case, it would seem that his precedent-setting "opinion" should not be allowed to stand untested, but should be reviewed by the highest court in the land. The decision rests with Attorney-General Brownell.

How do you feel?

Voice of Experience

THE AMERICAN Bankers Association held its annual convention in Washington this year for the first time since 1934. The leaders showed clearly that they had learned a great deal in the 19 years between. The main concern they expressed, wherever small groups gathered for intimate talk, was that not all the bankers understood their responsibility for keeping the country prosperous. They expressed horror over the numbers who had recently become choosy and "tight" with loans. That was not the way to "maintain full employment" and insure "a constantly expanding economy" — one-time New Deal watchword but now accepted theory among one powerful group of bankers.

The Eisenhower Cabinet backed up the ABA officials in warning the 7,000 members who gathered in Washington to loosen up on credit. Housing Administrator Albert Cole soberly reminded the bankers that unless there was an adequate flow of credit for housing "we may be required to resort to some means of assistance to avoid unnecessary wrenches to our entire economy." Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson pleaded for sympathy with the farmer's credit problems. Stay with them, he urged, "even when weather or economic conditions make debt repayment less favorable." Sen. Wallace F. Bennett (R, Utah), a member of both the Senate Finance and Banking and Currency Committees, went so far as to allude to some new form of the RFC. "It would be tragic," Bennett announced, "if we who have fought so long for the privilege of operating in a free market would fail to recognize our present opportunity and were to lose it again by default."

The Administration was putting the bankers on notice that they must fully assume the lending functions performed by the government under the Democrats or the Republican Government, much as it dislikes to do so, will continue to perform them.

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A Bonanza For Private Power

LAST YEAR, the Virginia Electric and Power Company (Vepco) won the right to build a dam at Roanoke Rapids—a choice power sight slated for federal multipurpose development. During a four-year fight with the Department of Interior, Vepco officials argued that if they were permitted to build the dam, the government would not have to spend a cent. Now Vepco has managed matters so that the government will pay the entire cost of the dam and hand over a handsome bonus besides. No magic was involved, only a paper known as an "accelerated tax-amortization certificate."

The accelerated tax-amortization program is designed to furnish financial incentive for construction of facilities essential to defense. Begun during World War II, the program was revived in 1950 because of Korea. Vepco applied for a license to build at Roanoke Rapids in 1948—almost two years before the Korean War. The Department of Interior opposed Vepco's application because the project would "skim the cream" from a federal overall program of river-basin development already initiated. But the Federal Power Commission ruled in favor of Vepco—two months before the Korean War—on the grounds that (a) the region did need power, (b) the company would require no federal participation or appropriation to complete the project, and (c) the company had adequate financial ability to undertake the task.

But by the time the Supreme Court upheld FPC's ruling, the revived tax-amortization program was in full roll. In two years it had already granted $26 billion in tax write-offs; the total for the entire six years of World War II was $7.3 billion. Obviously the temptation was great. Directly contradicting its previous claim that peacetime power needs in the Roanoke Rapids region were too great to permit waiting for completion of the government river-basin development project, Vepco filed a memorandum arguing that it required a financial incentive to build the dam. When the new Administration dissolved the Defense Electric Power Administration in June, Vepco's memo went to Douglas McKay's Department of Interior and was quickly approved. The Office of Defense Mobilization rubber-stamped it and Vepco was allowed to write-off, for tax purposes, 65 percent of the $33 million value of the dam during the first five years. The average rate granted power companies is around 45 percent. It is impossible to discover why Vepco was allowed so high a rate, or why its request was granted at all—the documents have been "classified."

Here is what the certificate is worth: During the first five years of operation, Vepco will, for tax purposes, subtract $21 million from the value of its $33 million dam. Each year of the five it will pay almost $2 million less than it would if it did not have a certificate—a five-year total saving of $9.7 million. If the annual amount saved is invested at six percent, at the end of five years the total benefit to the company will be $11 million. On the sixth year Vepco will begin repaying the $9.7 million owed the US. But it will have 35 years in which to pay, and under the certificate the government charges no interest. So each year Vepco will subtract 1/35 of $9.7—$277,000—from the $11 million it has accumulated, send that to the government and leave the balance intact to earn more interest. Forty years from the date of the certificate, the government will have its $9.7 million—and Vepco will have made $53 million from the use of what is, in effect, an interest-free loan. The $53 million will pay for the dam—which for 40 years will have been operated at a profit—and leave a $20 million bonus.

While defense, foreign-aid, and public-welfare programs have been slashed and slashed again, the accelerated tax-amortization program remains intact and expensive. In less than three years, private electric companies alone have had nearly $2 billion certified for rapid tax-amortization. These companies contend that public power is subsidized. Yet in more than 40 years, the government has spent only some $3 billion on multipurpose projects—all of which will be repaid in full.

It would seem that tax amortization is about due for one of the fashionable "new looks." But Arthur S. Fleming, Director, Office of Defense Mobilization, has stated that even in such cases as electric power, no decision has been made to "tighten" the criteria for certification. In the meantime, the American Public Power Association has requested a Congressional investigation of the Roanoke Rapids case.

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Challenge to Witch Hunt

AN OLD LINE of defense is being revived in an attempt to stem the McCarthy-Jenner-Velde intrusions into the private affairs of private citizens. The revival can be traced back to June 11, when Professor Einstein urged American intellectuals to defy Congressional witch hunters and refuse to answer inquisitorial inquiries into their personal beliefs and activities. Then on July 14 Harvey O'Connor, the author of *Mellon's Millions*, declined to answer McCarthy's questions as to whether he had been a Communist when he wrote books used in government libraries overseas. He made it clear that his refusal was not based upon his right under the Fifth Amendment not to be forced to incriminate himself; rather he based his refusal upon the First Amendment, challenging the right of the McCarthy Committee as an agent of the government to inquire into his writings and personal affairs. The Senate thereupon voted to cite O'Connor for contempt.

Corliss Lamont, the son of Thomas W. Lamont and the author of various writings dealing with Russia, has now taken the same position. When questioned by McCarthy about these writings, which had been used by the Army, Lamont declined to answer on the ground that the First Amendment's guarantee of a free press barred the subcommittee from investigating his old writings. He too made it plain that he was not relying on the Fifth Amendment. But he differed from O'Connor in that he specifically denied that he is now or ever was a member of the Communist Party, a point which was disputed by the indefatigable Louis Budenz.

This First Amendment defense is an honest and thorough challenge to the operations of Congressional committees that are disposed to invade areas where Congress itself dare not tread. Whether the challenge will be successful, however, is another matter. The same basic defense was made by the Hollywood Ten in their defense of the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1947 and by the directors of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. Their use of the defense proved futile and they were jailed for contempt. But the Supreme Court declined to review the cases, and there has thus been no definitive judicial adjudication of the validity of this First Amendment defense. Some hope has been expressed that the Supreme Court might now be disposed to rule on the issue. Last March the Court held that the House Select Committee on Lobbying exceeded its authority under a House resolution in seeking to require Edward A. Rumely to disclose the names of those who made bulk purchases of books sold by the Committee for Constitutional Government. In concurring in the result, Justices Douglas and Black reached the constitutional issue now posed by O'Connor and Lamont and stated that the investigating power of Congressional committees is limited by the First Amendment, precluding them from inquiring into personal and private affairs.

The time may very well be at hand when the individual's right of privacy will receive a long overdue recognition from the courts. The O'Connor and Lamont cases provide the opportunity for that recognition.

Ham and Egg

THE KEY FACT of the American Federation of Labor convention was that it signalized the collapse of the Republican slick political drive to split the AFL, or a large section of it, from the New Deal tradition. President Eisenhower, unable to stave off Martin P. Durkin's resignation, sent Vice-President Nixon to St. Louis to retrieve the situation. Nixon scored the TV triumph of all time just a year ago with his hammed-up soap opera about his personal finances. He flopped this year before the AFL. The delegates jeered his attempted explanation about a "misunderstanding" between Durkin and the President, cheered when he said the Republicans would "deserve to lose" if they nourished the favored few. As one delegate was quoted in the *Wall Street Journal*, "With ham you've got to have an egg, and he laid it."

Mr. Eisenhower himself apparently realized that the Dewey-Brownell tactics of "splitting" the AFL had failed. He confessed, at last, that he considered the Taft-Hartley law a "substantial contribution" to labor-management relations. That is not the way he talked last year to the AFL, when he was a candidate, but it is the way the dominant businessmen surrounding him compel him to talk now.

It should be observed that the AFL, after years of being stalled on dead center under the aged William Green, is growing in numbers and spirit under the fresh new presidency of George Meany. It is moving steadily toward a re-emphasis of the broad social concepts that marked the best years of Samuel Gompers, toward a revived recognition of labor's political and educational function. The "unity" drives of AFL and CIO unions in several jurisdictions are reaching full effectiveness. Meany and CIO President Walter Reuther are free of the inherited antagonisms of the past and their parallel leadership may do much to make labor increasingly vigorous.

Clean Up on the Docks

THE DETERMINATION with which Meany's AFL booted the racketeer-ridden International Longshoremen's Association out of the federation created an enormous moral and financial dilemma for New York shipping firms. ILA President Joseph Ryan, under indictment for alleged crimes and repudiated by the parent organization, hastily sought a new contract to hold his jurisdiction over his rank-and-file members. The Taft-Hartley law compels employers, of course, to bargain collectively with certified unions—and the ILA is certified. Still the dockers and shippers —rotten with corruption themselves, as revealed by New York State Crime Commission hearings—were in a box. If they quickly signed with Ryan and the ILA, it would be a clear signal that they preferred to deal with dubious unions rather than with honest ones. The AFL set up a new longshoremen's organization to take the rank and file away from Ryan. But it requires time to organize a new union, and under any circumstances there will be trouble, and financial loss, on the waterfront. The shipping companies were not required by Taft-Hartley instantaneously to sign a new ILA contract, ignoring what the AFL had done to discredit the dockside racketeers. A one-day "wildcat" strike on the waterfront is supposed to cost the owner of an ordinary freighter $5,000 but any attempt to "deal" with Ryan and the discredited ILA would be likely to cost ship operators many more days of pain and financial loss than a few "wildcats." The AFL has cleaned house. It is not too much to ask that the shipping firms clean house, too.

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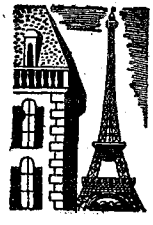
Paris Dispatch: THE PARIS-WASHINGTON FERRY

The initiative for French Premier Joseph Laniel's scheduled trip to Washington came from Paris. The reason for his urgent request to be allowed to make a White House appearance with General Eisenhower in a setting of world power lies in the weakness of his position in domestic French politics. He is fighting a preventive Cold War against the gathering forces of labor and of the liberals. To stand a chance of winning he needs the fact, or at least the appearance, of support from the US government.

The reason for acceding to Laniel's request lies in US world politics. Now that the West German voters have given Konrad Adenauer's policies the support which Secretary Dulles told them to provide, the next step in Western Europe is ensuring the French National Assembly's ratification of the European Defense Community. Now that the French Government had traded its support of the official US Asian line in exchange for US support of the Juin line in Morocco, the next step in Southeast Asia is getting the French forces really fighting in Indo-China.

There is nothing new about this tactical agreement between gentlemanly big businessmen in Paris and Washington. Laniel was following the example set by his predecessor, René Mayer. But between Mayer's visit and Laniel's there has been a change in France, at least in degree. Laniel needs US support more desperately than Mayer did. The war in Indo-China has once again become a top priority not only for the Pentagon, the State Department and the White House, but also for France and the French. This fact should in theory be good news for the very large number of Americans who consider containment of Communist China a top priority.



It might be if such words as France and the French had clear and simple meanings: if the French state faced no serious threat either from a Communist-dominated *Front Populaire* or from a neo-Petainist movement led by Marshal Juin; if the French nation were willing to implement its ancient traditions of reason and lucidity by hard work, social discipline and sacrifice; if the French legislature faithfully represented public opinion and put national interest ahead of the special interests of economic and social minorities; if the French Government had real authority and could therefore accept and fulfill the responsibilities it undertook; if the French people themselves were not badly and bitterly divided on such primary matters as definitions of democracy and national interest.

It might be good news if a majority of the French could at least come to agreement on either separating the fighting war in Indo-China from the Cold War in Europe or integrating the two in some coherent and workable whole of policy and conduct. Under present circumstances, neither seems either possible or even conceivable. And the presumed requirements of the Cold War in Europe are being used by French politicians as justification for domestic Cold War against the workers and liberals, while the strategic requirements of Asian policy are seen by US politicians as urgent enough to justify support for any French government, no matter what it does or fails to do at home, that offers the chance for harder fighting in Indo-China.

Guy Mollet and other Socialist leaders, including the founder of the anti-Communist labor movement, *Force Ouvriere,* are calling for a new movement in France of economic and social democracy to fight Adenauer's and Bidault's Christian Democracy.

Mollet wants to bring together "workers, both organized and non-organized members of the big trade unions, co-operatives, mutual and cultural associations; Christians who are opposed to clericalism; and Communist workers who have lost faith in their Stalinist leaders." In the domestic field, the minimum program includes full employment, cheap housing, restoration of buying power, economic and social justice. But in the foreign field, it also calls for "stopping the bloodletting in Indo-China" and linking collective security and European construction with "the permanent willingness to negotiate" with Soviet Russia and Communist China.

Since the wave of strikes, this movement has been gaining ground steadily. Granting that the foreign program may go too far, it nevertheless remains conceivable that these goals might be modified if Laniel and men like him went even part of the way toward satisfying the domestic program. In reality, they are going in the opposite direction. The promises made to the workers—the ones that permitted Bidault's party to act as go-between in breaking the strikes—are being broken. The railway workers who struck in August are being punished. The right to bargain collectively and, if need be to strike in support of such bargaining, is being taken away from the workers in the PTT—the post office, telephone and telegraph services. Strike-breaking flying-squads are being organized among the workers themselves by promises of special, favored treatment. The police and the army are being put on a domestic hot war footing. And, not incidentally, the Vatican has formally forbidden the *Mission de Paris* to recruit any more "worker priests" or to permit students for the priesthood to help win over workers by sharing their toil.

Under such circumstances it will be very difficult for the Laniel government, no matter what support it may get in GOP Washington, to survive a refusal to consider any serious offer of negotiations that may be made by Ho Chi-minh. It is hard to see how Laniel's attitude combined with Eisenhower's attitude can fail to help the French Communists in their unceasing efforts to steal membership from the anti-Communists unions and to drum up support for a new *Front Populaire.* And it is even harder to see how the strategic purposes of the US and of the whole free world in Indo-China can be well served by a French Premier who, to save himself from such a development as new and broader Communist power, may have to call upon a Marshal of France who sneers publicly in contempt at the office of the Presidency of the French Republic as being too petty a meal for his appetite for power.

Paris FRANK GORRELL

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CHINA AND THE U.S.

What both sides will seek in the Korean conference—the terms of peace—Red China and the UN—if we go it alone

THE ARTICLES that follow in this issue discuss the terms of peace in the Pacific area. They express the view that the Korean settlement is linked to other disputes; that these disputes must sooner or later be resolved; that it is important to stand together with other free nations, and dangerous to act alone.

There is truth in all these arguments. Yet, for reasons which may prove justified, United States policy in the Pacific today is governed by new and contrasting assumptions. These are that the Korean conflict must be considered by itself; that the wider conflicts in Asia are not negotiable at present; that the need is for a strong policy; and that other free nations will follow a strong policy because (as Mr. Kano admits) they have no choice.

Our government starts with the assumption that Communist China is an aggressive power, firmly bound to the Kremlin and determined to extend its influence by force. Until it is thwarted at every point by counter-pressure, there is no basis for normal relations. We may register marginal gains such as the Korean Armistice Agreement, but we cannot negotiate peace.

Our government believes further that it is unprofitable to link the Korean dispute with other conflicts. For each dispute is approached separately by both sides, in terms of local issues and the local pressures that each is able and willing to bring to bear. Neither we nor the Communists negotiate by trading. We are unwilling to make deals on matters such as Formosa which involve lives; the Chinese have no intention of trading Korean unification for membership in the UN which they believe they are unconditionally entitled to and inevitably about to gain.

Our government holds in addition that there is very little to be negotiated in the Pacific. The Indo-China war is not subject to compromise. The US has no intention of allowing Formosa to fall into Communist hands. Trade is a minor issue since the Communists have little to export that the free world needs. The UN is less a critical issue for either side than, in Mr. Kano's phrase, "a devil's tooth to excite the opposition."

Lastly, our government is acting on the assumption that we are in the stronger position in Korea, and that time there is on our side. Therefore, we are under no pressure to buy a Korean peace with unwarranted concessions. In fact, the argument goes, should we offer concessions for the sake of settlement when we are strong, we would actually diminish the chances of reaching settlements elsewhere.

Within the limits set by these assumptions, the Eisenhower Administration has prepared a bold plan for Korean peace.

First, Korea is to be unified through new national elections.

Second, Korea is to be neutralized by limiting the size of its armed forces, by creating a Demilitarized Zone on its Northern Frontier, and by an international guarantee of its borders.

Third, all foreign troops will be evacuated from Korea if the first and second conditions are met.

But can these conditions be met?

THE UN, of course, must continue to advocate the unification of Korea. At the same time China, kept outside the UN, must continue to assert her vital interest in Korea. Even if both sides demonstrate a will to agree, the task of uniting a Communist dictatorship and its non-Communist enemy cannot be solved overnight. Elections are the traditional panacea that we offer in place of detailed plans. And certainly an interim, coalition government that includes the Communists and Rhee is not a possible alternative. Yet who can foresee Communist candidates campaigning for election in South Korea under the protection of Rhee's police? And why should Rhee's supporters fare better in North Korea? The gulf between majority and minority is too great for free elections to bridge today, particularly since neither side respects minority rights. Our own Tragic Era should make us patient in seeking the unification of a nation exhausted by civil war.

The neutralization of Korea and the evacuation of foreign troops are the incentives which, for the Com-

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munists, might make peace in Korea worthwhile. Here the opposition, blind and implacable, comes from President Rhee.

Rhee has always favored the evacuation of foreign troops. This step alone, of course, would leave him with a military force that could crush the present North Korean Army and take all Korea by force. If the Communists decline, as they must, to accept this invitation to suicide, Rhee prefers no agreement, concluding that, as on Formosa, the United States Senate will continue to feed, clothe and equip his 20 divisions and to support him with men and weapons when he chooses to strike.

So Rhee denounces the US plan. His insistence that the Communists cannot be trusted is largely irrelevant in view of the assurances already provided by the Mutual Defense Pact signed by the US. Rhee blandly states that his real purpose is to resume the war. The Republic of Korea, he maintains:

> . . . has postponed its determination to unify North and South Korea by military means in order to see what may come out of a political conference. If 90 days after it opens it has failed to achieve the objective of Korean unification then naturally we shall resume the battle. We expect and we have no reason so far to believe otherwise that all friendly forces now in Korea will assist us toward that objective.

Rhee, of course, is wrong. The Government of Canada has declared that it will not support the resumption of the war on these terms. The Government of Britain and other UN members have indicated support of Canada's position. If the US stands with Rhee, it will stand alone. The perils of that stand are analyzed in this issue by Helen Mears.

The US proposals are not, of course, a final plan. Within the broad framework of Paragraph 60 of the Armistice Agreement, there may be further modifications that will make the plan acceptable to the Communists and to Rhee. The main point we must emphasize is the total invalidity of Rhee's claim that if agreement is not reached within 90 days then we are committed to aggressive war.

If the Communists indicate even substantial approval of the US plan for neutralization and a willingness to seek agreement on unification over a period of time, then as long as the Armistice is honored there is no justification for resumption of the Korean War.

If the conference fails, due to Rhee's intransigence, we may conclude that we have only two choices—to evacuate Korea, or to submit to Rhee's decision to resume the war. Both choices are intolerable. The third course is to insist, for as long as we can, on continued negotiations, and with them continued observance of the terms of the Armistice Agreement.

The Armistice Agreement binds both sides to observe the present boundary line, bordered on each side by the Demilitarized Zone; and to permit no buildup of military forces. Save for the rotation of units on a man-for-man basis and for other minor exceptions, both sides are today committed to "cease the introduction into Korea of reinforcing military personnel." Except for replacements on a weapon-for-weapon basis both sides are further bound to "cease introduction into Korea of reinforcing combat aircraft, armored vehicles, weapons and ammunitions." Both sides have agreed that their commanders "shall actively co-operate with one another and with the Military Armistice Commission and the Neutral Nations Supervising Commission in requiring observance of both the letter and the spirit of all the provisions of this Armistice Agreement."

The Military Armistice Commission is made up of both sides and is responsible for implementing the truce, negotiating all disputes and punishing all violations. Ten Joint Observer Teams serve under it, to investigate all charges of violations. The Commission is now established and meets every day.

The Neutral Nations Supervising Commission is made up of representatives of Sweden, Switzerland, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Its 20 Neutral Nations Inspection Teams are stationed at five ports of entry on both sides. All replacements of arms and personnel must enter through these ports and await inspection. And mobile teams are organized to be rushed to any airfield port or frontier where violations are suspected.

THIS IS A STRONG contract and a precious one, since it took a year of negotiations and casualties beyond count to attain. It cannot prohibit war. It simply freezes the present situation in Korea, and there are at present in Korea troops and weapons sufficient to wage a long war. To the North there are a million Communist troops. In the South there are 450,000 ROK soldiers, 750,000 Americans and 25,000 UN troops. No prohibitions are placed by the Armistice on the buildup of Korean forces. Nor is there any ban on the transfer to these forces of equipment now held by Chinese or UN troops.

There is enough Soviet equipment in the North to rebuild the North Korean Army, and enough in the South to furnish the 20 ROK divisions Rhee has planned. All these forces may be set once more in motion by border incidents, by disputes over the exchange of prisoners, by violations such as the introduction of new planes to North Korean airfields (already reported by the North Korean pilot who flew a Russian MIG to our lines) or simply by the decision of Rhee, or the Communists that they stand to gain more from war than from deadlock.

Against these inducements to warfare stand the misery of the Korean people and the danger that a new war would almost certainly spread. The measured danger is the assertion of our top commanders in the Pacific that they can conscientiously support a resumption of the war only if they are backed by immediate and total mobilization in the United States.

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If We Want Peace in Asia . . .

by Harold Fisher

EVER SINCE the start of the Korean War, we have been beset with the belief that this conflict could be treated as an isolated issue. Our success in throwing back the aggression seems to have persuaded us that we could settle the Korean problem once and for all if we won a clearcut military victory, drove the Communists north of the Yalu, and with our UN allies, unified the country by force, not to become a protectorate of any single nation but a ward and ultimately a member of the UN. We checked aggression but did not achieve unification because the Korean War involved much more than unification and aggression.

We have taken a similar position in respect to the Korean political conference. Our insistence that it be a two-sided, not a round-table, conference seems to be inspired by the belief that we can get a Korean settlement without considering the other issues.

There are good reasons for seeing to it that the Korean peace is not side-tracked, but we are likely again to be disappointed if we expect that by making this a two-sided conference we can separate the Korean problem from the others to which it is so closely related. It may very well be that a round-table conference is not the best way to deal with the Korean peace, but it is the only way to deal with the larger issues upon which that peace depends. If our purpose is merely to pay back the Communists for the losses they have made us suffer, we shall have to act unilaterally, but if our aim is to diminish tensions in Asia, safeguard and extend free institutions and achieve higher levels of well being for ourselves and others, we must find ways of co-operation with the governments and citizens directly involved.

Unless we are willing to join round-table discussions of co-operation measures to deal with these issues, we shall find ourselves faced with the choice of gradually assuming unilateral responsibility for the security, economic and political stability of South Korea, Japan, Formosa, the Philippines, Indo-China or of declaring that we are wholly disinterested in what happens to those countries.

Unilateralism, as Adlai Stevenson said recently, is the new face of isolationism. It is a kind of national escapism from the responsibilities of power and the frustrations of interdependence. It raises false hopes of easy solutions at home and encourages neutralism abroad. It lends color to the Communist charge that the American objective is not to co-operate but to dominate. But if we were to take the lead in calling an Asian round-table conference to follow the Korean conference, we would increase the chances of success of that conference and we would lessen some of the doubts about our motives and disprove Communist propaganda about our imperialist intentions. We would promote a sense of responsibility among the Asians for the safeguarding of freedom in Asia.

The conditions in Asia with which such a round-table conference would have to deal are infinite in number and complexity. I should like to mention four of them.

First, let us accept the fact that no matter what we do, Asia won't settle down into any kind of pre-World War II normalcy. The peoples of Asia, the Middle East and of Africa are on the march. The causes of their unrest lie deeper than Communist incitement or imperialist oppression. They are trying to effect in a few decades an even deeper transformation than Western Europe and North America made in the last two centuries. We Westerners started this transformation: the issue is whether we shall continue to aid and inspire it or allow ourselves to be misled or maneuvered into opposing or appearing to oppose the efforts of 75 percent of the world's population to catch up with the other 25 percent in the elimination of illiteracy, poverty, hunger and disease.

If we are to go along with the revolution we started, we must devise a system for the exchange and employment of skills and capital, of goods and services, not based on colonialism or a dole but on equality and independence of foreign domination. In economic relations, it means modernization. If the free world cannot find a way of co-operation through which the underdeveloped areas can develop and the developed areas can survive, the free world is doomed.

A second condition we face is what Robert Trumbull of the *Times* calls a preference of the Asians not to think well of the West if there is an alternative. He says it is a hangover from the colonial period. I think it is what Sir George Sansome refers to as an "historical reluctance of Asiatic peoples to engage in close relations with Europe." There are many causes for this attitude but most of them do not apply to Russia. In spite of the record of Russian imperialism in Central Asia and the Far East, the Asians are inclined to accept the notion that European capitalism was as alien to Russia as to Asia, that Peter the Great's attempt to westernize Russia and the Communists' Five Year Plans were defensive rather than emulative, a strategy followed by Japan and Turkey and now by China.

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The practical significance of this attitude of the Asians is that they will not be kept from falling under Russian domination by being told that Russian ways are evil and Western ways are good but only by demonstrating that Western ways may be adapted to the needs of Asia without remaking Asia into the image.

A third condition is that Communism will be a political force in Asia for a long, long time. A corollary of this is that Communism contains contradictions and seeds of conflict and destruction. The Moscow Communists and the Peiping Communists rule over about three-fifths of the area and half of the population of Asia. No treaty or settlement will cause these Communists to go out of business and give up their drive to direct and shape the transformation of Asian societies. No ideological orthodoxy is strong enough to prevent Communist disagreements about how and by whom this transformation is to be directed. If we accept, as it appears we must, the necessity of an indefinite, unpeaceful, intensely competitive co-existence with Communism in Asia, we shall best serve the cause of peace, freedom and progress if we support a security system that discourages Korean type aggressions and adopt policies that will encourage Communist contradictions.

Our mutual security pacts with Japan, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand and Korea serve the purposes of security in the Western and South Pacific but not Southeast Asia. For many reasons such regional pacts as NATO are less suited to the complexities of security in South and Southeast Asia than the United Nations provisions invoked in Korea. We can discourage new Communist adventures by rejecting the view that collective resistance to aggression was a failure and by reaffirming our support of the "Uniting for Peace" resolution under which the UN can act under authority of the General Assembly in case of a veto in the Security Council.

The development of Communist contradictions is bound to be influenced by our attitude toward the demands of many Asians and Europeans for more trade with Communist areas and for the admission of the Peiping government to the UN. The basic decision is whether our trade and diplomatic relations with a government are to be determined by whether it is Communist or non-Communist or by its international behavior. The international behavior of the Peiping regime has been as arrogant and hostile toward the Western "barbarians" as that of the Son of Heaven in the days of the Empire. But we ought to consider the consequences of being provoked into an unconditional opposition to what so many Asians and Europeans desire. One of these consequences is to promote the isolation of the United States; another is to promote Peiping's dependence on Moscow. We shall certainly be in a stronger position in Asia if we point out, first, that neither trade nor admission to the UN will serve any purpose unless the Peiping rulers change their methods and observe a few of the usages customary in intercourse between civilized communities and, second, that our dislike of Communism will not cause us to ignore a change in attitude that would permit a resumption of friendly relations with the people of China, who are also victims of Communism.

This suggests a fourth condition: the necessity of basing our Asian policy decisions on other considerations besides anti-Communism and military preparedness. Peace can no longer be based on what Veblen called "a collusive safeguarding of national discrepancies by force of arms." Peace in the post-Korean era depends on our capacity to reduce these national discrepancies by mutual aid and mutual respect.

Communist China and the UN

by Harold M. Vinacke

SECRETARY DULLES opposes trading "admittance of Red China into the United Nations for Korean unification." The UN General Assembly has backed his stand. But the limitation set by the Assembly on the composition and scope of the political conference on Korea will only postpone consideration of the question of Communist China's admission to the UN. Underlying the debate on India's representation at the conference was the belief that India would support Communist China's claims to a UN seat; and the US, by conceding India's role at a later conference, acknowledges that the issue is a live one. The ability of the US to shape the composition of the UN delegation to the political conference does not mean that its views will prevail when the Assembly votes on seating Communist China. The US, however, can keep the Peiping Government out by the exercise of the veto in the Security Council.

This was threatened by Secretary Dulles on the eve of his departure to Korea. Whether his statement was intended to have general application or only to make clear the American position against a trade with respect to Korean unification is not altogether clear.

One consequence of exercising the veto would be to reverse the position taken so far by the United States as to when the veto is applicable. It is with respect to questions of admission to the United Nations that the veto has been most frequently used by the Soviet Union, and the United States has insisted that the use was im-

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proper. It has sought to bring about acceptance of restriction of the veto to the most important range of questions which are strictly substantive rather than procedural in character; and it has viewed the question of admission of new members to the organization as procedural and thus not properly subject to the veto. If the question of admission of a state to membership is procedural, then it would seem clear that passing on the claims of two competitive governments to represent a member state is even more a question of procedure. Thus the decision to veto would in effect constitute an acceptance of the soundness of the Soviet interpretation of the voting formula as against that of the United States. Such an admission of past error may now be expedient, but it should be made only in full awareness of the consequences. From the standpoint of the United Nations, and of the ability of the Security Council to function, it would represent a backward step. And it would clearly make it more difficult for the United States to base its claims for support against the Soviet Union, on its higher international morality. It would be shown that it has not been the principle at issue so much as our ability up to the present to enlist the necessary majority against the Soviet Union which has determined our approach to the question of change within the United Nations. Thus the question presented is whether it is sufficiently essential, at all costs, to keep Communist China out of the United Nations to pay the price of loss of confidence in the asserted disinterestedness of the United States' approach to United Nations' questions. If so, the veto should be exercised, if that becomes necessary. If not, the United States should continue to define its position as that of determination to express its own views together with willingness to accept the conclusion which may be reached by seven of the 11 members of the Security Council.

ONE GREAT ARGUMENT against seating the Communist representatives lies in the effect of this action on the international position of the Chinese regime on Formosa, which the United States and many other states continue to recognize not merely as the government of Formosa but as the *de jure* government of China. The effect of recognition of the Communist regime for United Nations purposes would be to put the Formosan regime outside the framework of organized international society. It would certainly be questionable, at any rate, whether it could claim any benefits of the Charter against the Chinese Communists. Both the National Government and the Communists regard Formosa as a part of China, and have so regarded it since it was taken over by the Chinese after the Japanese surrender. The terms of the Japanese peace treaty did not, to be sure, formally transfer title from Japan to China, merely divesting Japan of title. Nationalist China, nevertheless, regards it as the part of China from which it intends to regain control of the whole nation. Many overseas Chinese maintain their loyalty to Formosa, which symbolizes for them hostility to the People's Government. The Communists, on their side, will not regard the civil war as concluded until they have overthrown the National Government on Formosa. The United States, for the period of the Korean War, has policed the Formosan Straits to prevent an invasion of Formosa, and at the same time it put Nationalist operations against the mainland under wraps.

One of the first acts of the Eisenhower Administration was to remove the American prohibition against nationalist action *vis à vis* the mainland, while maintaining protection of Formosa against Communist invasion. If the Communists should be admitted to membership in the United Nations and the National Government, consequently, be denied voting representation, as it would necessarily have to be, the resumption of the civil war in the form of an attempted Communist invasion of Formosa would make the position of the defenders much more difficult from the international standpoint. It would also force the United States to make some redefinitions of its policy. It can reasonably be argued, for example, that a state can refuse *de jure* recognition on a political basis to a new state or government and still deal with it, *de facto,* within specific international organizations. That possibility has been shown in the past when an unrecognized government has been admitted into such administrative organizations as the International Postal Union. But the United Nations, except for the specialized agencies, has an essentially political purpose which makes it more difficult for a state or government to be received into membership without affecting the complex of its relations with non-recognizing states. This aspect of the problem is further complicated in the case of China by its permanent membership on the Security Council, which gives it the veto, and by the noncompletion of the civil war. If China were not a permanent member of the Security Council, the question of what government should represent it in the United Nations would lose some, if not all, of its immediate importance. And if it were not for the strategic importance of Formosa to the United States, it is probable that the issue could be resolved by postponement of the question of admission to the United Nations until the civil war situation had been conclusively resolved. At any rate, the question of Formosa has become determinant of the attitude of the United States.

Does the Communist regime meet the requirements laid down in the Charter for membership in the Organization? These are: that the applicant must be (1) "peace-loving"; and (2) that it must "accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization" be "able and willing to carry out these obligations."

Certainly Communist China cannot be considered objectively to be "peace-loving" until it has liquidated its military intervention in Korea. It would clearly be a case of successful "shooting of the way" into the United Nations, and serve as a very bad precedent for the future, if admission into the United Nations should be traded solely for the withdrawal of all Chinese troops

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from Korea. It might be useful as a demonstration of future qualification if the Chinese regime agreed not to interfere with any steps taken to bring about unification in Korea. Similarly, a firm and implemented commitment to refrain from intervention, indirect as well as direct, in the war in Indo-China would help to develop confidence in the willingness and ability of the Peiping regime to discharge the obligations of membership in the United Nations. If such an assurance of the actual possession of the necessary qualification for membership should be given in connection with the post-armistice political conference, there would be ample justification for the admission of the People's Government as a method of restoring peace in the Far East, except for the one question of Formosa. Until that is satisfactorily answered, certainly the US would not be in a position to vote for the admission of the Chinese Communists, whether or not it felt it necessary to use the veto.

The Benevolent Person and the Fox

by Kizo Kano

ON HIS WAY home from Korea to Washington, Mr, John Foster Dulles conferred with the Japanese Premier S. Yoshida. They discussed the important subjects of Japanese rearmament and US economic aid, and the results were not satisfactory. It is reported that Mr. Yoshida showed something like resistance to the benevolent person. He did not mean to do so, however. He is quite different from the South Korean President despite his nickname of "Fox" bequeathed him by *Time* magazine.

Mr. Yoshida's position was derived from the last general election in which the issue was Japanese rearmament and the revision of our Constitution which rearmament makes necessary. The Liberal Party opposed rearmament and the revision of the constitution. The Progressive Party (which like the Liberal Party is really conservative) supported rearmament and revision. On this basis the Liberal Party was returned with a slim majority; it rules with Progressive Party support.

Once, when Japan was exhausted, and had unconditionally surrendered, it was American policy to have a weak Japan in the Northern Pacific. This policy led to the "peace constitution" sponsored by General MacArthur which pledged Japan to "renounce war." This in itself did not preclude the maintenance of land, sea and air forces and so Article 9 of the Constitution goes on to say "in order to accomplish the aim of renunciation, land, sea and air forces as well as other war potential will never be maintained."

Now eight years have passed. The stage is turned round; the new performance is played. After the Korean Armistice, or rather because of the Korean Armistice, America is particularly anxious to see a strong Japan.

Secretary Dulles, of course, knows the difficulties inherent in Japanese rearmament. The constitution is one barrier — our economic weakness is another. Even without rearmament the Japanese economy is in trouble. A third barrier is the psychological disgust with all things militaristic; a disgust which Americans did their best to cultivate. And yet the Japanese will eventually understand that they cannot rely on America protection forever.

Japanese rearmament according to Mr. Dulles began two years ago with the "Police Reserve Corps." Now it is known as the "National Security Corps" and it has a hundred thousand bazooka guns and anti-aircraft guns and also frigates and tanks. Premier Yoshida denies, of course, that Japan is rearming. By fortifying himself with Article 9 and denying the facts he improves his bargaining position which is no doubt why *Time* thinks him a cunning fellow, a fox.

I like Mr. Dulles for his outspoken attitude, particularly when he told the British people that the peace treaty with Japan was desirable because the Japanese boys are good for fighting power. Mr. Dulles contends that the UN Charter gives every nation the inalienable right of self defense. He must want Japan as a watch dog, and Mr. Yoshida seems to cherish this role.

Accordingly, Mr. Kimura, Chief of the National

The title printed in the upper left-hand corner of these three cartoons from *Asahi*, Japan's largest newspaper, is "the three tasks of the Mutual Security Administration." The script in the top cartoon labels the man lying on (and under MSA) *Japan*. The cartoon in the lower left corner shows "The thinking man," Premier Yoshida, with MSA on his mind. The third cartoon refers to the greed of the industrial Japan Economic League in reaching for MSA aid.

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Security Corps, announced his private five-year plan of increasing the self-defense forces to an army of 300,000 soldiers, a navy of 270,000 tons, and an air force of 2,700 fighter planes. An unkind rumor was circulated that Mr. Kimura was floating a trial balloon to attract economic aid from the Mutual Security Administration. But this was a devil's tooth to excite the opposition parties (it led to a vote of no-confidence in our foreign minister, Mr. Okazaki, which was defeated). There was another rumor—that the above figures were given to the Americans as the Government's real intentions.

But the Government of Mr. Yoshida has no intention of increasing Japan's military strength at the expense of our living standards. Mr. Yoshida told the American Ambassador, Mr. Allison, that Japan lacks the "material and moral strength" to support the rearmament program. Mr. Allison replied that Japan's defense should be developed without sacrificing political and economic stability through the help of the MSA.

Apparently we all agree. But there is a divergence of interests. America offers economic aid so that Japan can rearm. Japan wants American economic aid without rearmament. Mr. Yoshida is caught in between. He knows that he has no chance of obtaining revision of the Constitution. Not only the Socialists, the Leftists and the Rightists, but the students, the intellectuals, the trade unions would unite against any such move. And yet Japan must act in accord with America. Is there any way in which the two nations can honestly reach agreement, without sleight of hand or magic of words? Evidently not. Mr. Yoshida takes refuge in the magic of words. With Americans he agrees on military defense measures. To his own people he insists that the National Security Corps is not a military force at all, although American officers are training it while Japanese staff officers attend the Fort Benning Infantry School. Nor is Mr. Yoshida to blame. The cat shuts its eyes while it steals cream.

Poor people! The Japanese fidget and do scarcely anything, pinning their hopes on handouts that come from America. The true Japanese are not coveters for gold, but if it is a sin to covet honor, they are the most offending souls alive. They covet honorable independence in the true sense of the word.

Yet if you can look into the seeds of time and say which grain will grow and which will not, you will find that what Mr. Dulles wants—even to the extent that the Pentagon may enlarge it—will take root in the soil of Japan. The younger generation and especially the students may speak of "slavery" but we will concur because there is no other course that we could follow.

If We Go It Alone...

by Helen Mears

THE UN ASSEMBLY endorsed the stand of our government on Korea. And yet as we approach the political conference the views of the US and the majority of "our side" still conflict. This conflict could lead our country into a position of great danger.

The Administration has acknowledged and discounted this danger, according to Arthur Krock of the New York *Times*. "The Eisenhower Administration," he reports, "will not allow this nation to be bound by the policies of our allies in the UN to anything like the degree that the Truman Administration was bound." This approach Krock added "foreshadows events of the highest potential, and most grave in their implications . . . . The UN police action [could] be succeeded by another war in which conceivably even the five-percent contribution other members of the UN made to the defenders of the Korean Republic would be lacking."

This comment no doubt reflects another of Mr. Dulles' calculated risks rather than acceptance of continuing warfare. Yet if the political conference does break down on the narrow basis on which it is constituted, we will face the broad alternatives of enlarging the conference agenda, or resigning ourselves to a deadlock presided over by President Rhee. It is worth reflecting now that if we choose a deadlock, we may stand alone; that if deadlock leads to a new war, we may fight alone, and that if we fight alone, we shall fight under disabilities that we did not suffer under the banner of the UN.

First, a new war would almost certainly spread to China creating at once the danger of Soviet involvement. But even if the Soviet Government did not openly intervene, the involvement of the Peiping Government as an open belligerent would change the military picture in a number of important respects. Unless, by an atomic blitzkrieg against North Korea, Manchuria and China, our forces were able to gain swift surrender—and there is certainly no assurance of this—the ensuing war would be much more difficult to fight than the "police action."

The Communists certainly would lose their "privileged sanctuary" in Manchuria; our side would simultaneously lose *our* "privileged sanctuaries" in South Korea, and Japan. Throughout the "police action" our bases, supplies and troops in rear areas back of the lines in South Korea and Japan have been free from attack. The US has had virtually absolute command of the air

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and the sea. Recent figures from the Fifth Air Force listed a total of 206 US planes lost through "operational" defects, and only 94 lost in combat. The Chinese Air Force operated very sparingly against our front lines; and they never bombed our rear areas in South Korea.

In a new war, in which the battlefield was extended to include Manchuria and all China, we could clearly no longer count on this immunity. Once the war had spread into Chinese territory the Chinese would have every incentive to make an all-out drive with everything they had. What the Chinese Air Force has is speculative but not long ago Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg told a Congressional Committee that it was possible that the USSR would "introduce" its twin jet light bomber into the Chinese Air Force, and that if this happened and they were used "against crowded UN airfields, ports and supply lines in South Korea these high performance bombers could quickly jeopardize our position there."

A similar situation exists in respect to our Navy. It has been able to cruise virtually at will along the coast behind enemy lines and bombard targets deep inside enemy country. In a new war the Navy would face far greater hazards.

Like South Korea, Japan has been a major "privileged sanctuary" for us. Japan has been a major base for planes, ships, troops and supplies. It has been the major rest and recreation center, with hundreds of men sent over daily for five-day leaves. During the UN "police action" Japan was not attacked. In a new war, however, if China became an open belligerent, Japan would be at once exposed. As in the case of South Korea even a relatively weak attack could be expected to have disproportionate consequences. The small Japanese islands are particularly vulnerable to air attack. The US military installations make conspicuous targets. A moderate raid, by our standards, might also have the unexpected effect of totally demoralizing the population. Our bombings of Japan during World War II were so thorough that scarcely a city was spared. Memory of these raids is still sharp and terrifying for the Japanese and persistently popular opinion has opposed the rearming of Japan and has opposed the presence of US bases in the country. In past months there have been incessant reports in the press of demonstrations against our bases and soldiers. Should bombs begin to fall on Japan again, as the result of US policies, it is far from improbable that we would face rebellion against us in the islands.

In general, Americans have not been greatly concerned with the "legal" aspects of our foreign policy in terms of international commitments. There has been considerable confusion about the meaning of a "UN police action." For the most part public opinion has accepted the war in Korea as a crusade, or a defense, against godless and aggressive Communism, and the idea that such a crusade might not be legal in terms of international law has not in general occurred to us. We forget that US troops, fighting in Korea, have been accredited to the UN, and that Japan has been serving as a UN base throughout this action. The Japanese Government might well hesitate to give such co-operation to the US Government if it were fighting in Asia without the UN sanction. In fact, the US Government in earlier policies has made it impossible for Japan legally to do so.

The Japanese peace treaty (for which the US took the major responsibility), and the US-Japan Security Treaty both bind Japan to the UN. In signing these documents Japan committed herself to accept the UN Charter as a guide to foreign policy.

Article 5 (11) of the peace treaty states that Japan accepts the obligation: "to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or *in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the UN.*" (Italics added.)

The Security Treaty states that Japan will avoid "any armament which could be an offensive threat or serve other than to promote peace and security *in accordance with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter.*" (Italics added.)

In view of such provisions in these basic documents the Japanese Government might well decline to cooperate in any way with a unilateral US military action in Korea, or Asia, since it is clear that such co-operation, except under UN sponsorship, could be interpreted as breaking international agreements.

The Japanese are more sensitive to such possibilities than Americans are, because the Japanese know what it means to be an international outlaw. Americans have failed to realize the fact that the US position in relation to North Korea and China today seems to the Japanese to resemble very closely their own position in relation to Manchuria and China in the period from 1931 to 1941. During that period the US Government and American opinion charged the Japanese with aggression. The Japanese Government explained and justified their policies in Manchuria and China in terms very similar to those by which the US justifies and explains our unilateral policies in the Far East today. The Japanese leaders held that their military activities in Manchuria and China were necessary to defend their national security; to prevent the rise to power of the Chinese Communists; and to prevent the extension of Russian power into the Far East.

Back in 1931 the US Government refused to accept the Japanese justification. More important, the League of Nations also refused to accept it. The Japanese declared that their intentions were misinterpreted, and withdrew from the League. They will hesitate before they get into such a dangerous situation again.

Those Americans who today are urging a go-it-alone policy, if the UN fails to agree with our solution in Korea, are unintentionally pushing the US toward a position similar to Japan's. Without UN endorsement any US military action in Korea would be illegal, and could have very serious consequences.

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Do We Have Poor Teachers?

Four readers challenge the NR's editorial criticizing teacher training.

The September 14 NR published a guest editorial by I. Peggy Moses, a research economist of Columbia University, on "Why We Have Poor Teachers"; here, four readers reply.

► I have read with active interest the guest editorial published in your September 14 issue entitled "Why We Have Poor Teachers." Poor indeed, and in how many senses! Poor in salary, poor in quality, according to Miss Moses, but also poor in the sense that they are to be pitied, and for this last, if she recognizes that area of the problem, Miss Moses offers no remedy.

Let me first summarize her argument as I understand it. She is first of all critical of teachers' colleges because of their not too exacting intellectual standards. She compares their seniors with high school seniors in scores on a vocabulary test and finds that students training to teach in high school are by that measure inferior to the students they are preparing to teach. She compares the male juniors in schools of education with college juniors in general, and specifically with those in engineering schools, and finds a smaller number eligible for deferment from military service on the basis of scores in the College Qualification tests. She presents as a principal reason for this inferior showing of students in teachers' colleges the avoidance of the teaching profession by young people of superior ability because of inadequate teachers' salaries and because of the lack of intellectual stimulus in the courses offered in the teachers' colleges. She believes that raising the intellectual quality of the course offerings and the rigid screening of applicants of inferior mental ability would "attract to the nation's schools a sizable number of young men and women who understand and appreciate the intellectual values."

Miss Moses says that most discussions of the problem of inadequate teacher supply "sidestep the basic issues." I would like to present some aspects which she, too, has sidestepped.

A problem may be approached by an outsider looking in; there is value also in seeing it from the standpoint of the insider looking out. What will be the predicament of this intellectually superior teacher when he has left the sheltering walls of his alma mater, whether it be a teachers' college or a university, and has lowered over his understanding and appreciative head the yoke of the teacher?

Let us consider first his relationship with the students who will be assembled before him. We will assume that salaries having been raised to attract them, and teachers' colleges having elevated their standards to nourish them, we now have teachers who compare favorably with the highest 18 percent of high school seniors in vocabulary. But this beginning teacher will be teaching also, if not exclusively, ninth and tenth graders, in which classes that 18 percent will in proportion be substantially less, for between the ninth and twelfth years something like 50 percent will have dropped out and so will not be represented at all among high school seniors. Our superior teacher will be lucky to have even 10 percent who can speak his language. This 10 percent is not the group that most needs teaching. Most of them can teach themselves, if they are emotionally stable, and in most cases have the inspiration of environment and example at home to stimulate them. It is the other 90 percent that need leadership and example. Our superior teacher begins to flounder, for what has he in common with the wordless, bookless, idealless, visionless mass which is the real challenge to intelligent self government? How do you teach concepts which you never had to struggle to acquire, but which came to you almost by inheritance? How overcome the barrier of contempt for intellectual superiority which is present even in the young who for years have competed with that alien ability in a contest set up by those who have it to defeat those who are without it? To be superior is to be queer and socially unassimilable.

Nor can this superior teacher receive comfort from the administrators. These have been chosen, not for intellectual superiority, but for ability to get along with people, particularly with those who hire them. A disproportionate number come from the physical education department; only very rarely is one chosen from the academic field. To place an intellectually superior person in the position of an administrator is to crucify him.

For who hires the administrators? The school board. And whom does the school board represent? Judging from the performance of most of them, particularly in cities or even towns where a good deal of money passes through their hands, they do not represent the parents or the intellectuals in the community. They represent the chambers of commerce, the merchants and manufacturers, the construction and insurance companies. Have you ever suspected that their preferences for the three R's and for book subjects in general is based on the canny observation that these subjects require the least expensive equipment, can be most easily tested, and can tolerate the heaviest teacher load? Economical, efficient, of demonstrable success. Do you know of a school board who has advocated these subjects because they enable a person to think? To find new ways of relieving social and economic ills? Because they lead to concepts beyond the traditional concepts, to the revelation of the capacity of the mind of man?

The same distrust of intellectual superiority which the superior teacher meets in his classes he finds magnified and intensified in adults. Independence of mind and hunger for truth are unsalable, frightening, subversive. The superior person must conform to a norm, to abide by which is intellectual death, spiritual incarceration, but economic security.

The intellectually superior teacher is an anomaly. He cannot remain intellectually superior and do the job required of him. For his job is not primarily to teach. It is to keep a roomful of youngsters busy and interested, to sponsor their clubs, their sports, their social activities; to keep records of their attendance and achievements; in rare cases to be a personal friend and adviser, too commonly to be their boss, policeman and judge. He must carry out the edicts handed down from above, follow courses of study which neither he nor they created and which frequently both disapprove. He must enforce the authority of the state legislature, the local school board, and the even more local school administrators and faculty, whose regulations sometimes come via student councils in feeble efforts at self government. He must close his eyes to the fact that self government comes not from without, but from within. He must be a follower; he is a leader only in the classroom, where he must be very sure he is leading in the "right" direction. The "rightness" is determined by the school board, whose capacity for judging right-

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

AMBIGUITIES IN ITALIAN LITERATURE

by Nicola Chiaromonte

IN THE FARTHEST and most resplendent regions of the South, there operates a hidden Ministry for the defense of Nature against Reason: a maternal genius of unlimited power to whose jealous and unremitting care is entrusted the sleep in which those people are sunk. Should such a defense relax for a moment, should the sweet and cold voices of Reason be heard by the sleepers, Nature would be thunderstruck. This incompatibility of two forces which are equally great and, contrary to the optimist's view, unreconcilable; this frightfully secret defense of the territory of Nature, with its songs, its sorrows, and its dumb innocence; this, not the ruthlessness of History . . . is the cause of the conditions in which this land lies, of the pitiful defeat in which the expeditions sent out here by human reason invariably end. Here, thought can only be the slave of Nature, and its gazer. A critical examination is no sooner attempted, no sooner does a tendency take shape to correct the celestial conformation of these regions, to see water in the sea, chemical compounds in the volcanoes, insides in man, than death swiftly comes to the offender. . . . The immobility of these regions has been attributed to other causes, but they are not the true ones. It is Nature that regulates the life and organizes the sufferings of these people. Here economic disaster has no other cause. The long succession of kings and viceroys, the unconquerable array of priests, the multiplication of churches like amusement parks and of hospitals and prisons as well, stem from this. Here where Nature, once the mother of ecstasies, has taken refuge, Human Reason, everything in reason that is dangerous for Nature's Empire, is doomed."

This long quotation is taken from one of the successful and significant books of this year, *Il mare non bagna Napoli (The Sea does Not Touch Naples)* by Anne Maria Ortese, which has just received a Viareggio Prize. Miss Ortese's remarks about the struggle between Nature and Reason in the South could well apply to the moral and cultural situation of Italy as a whole. If Nature is taken to include the common denominator of social, religious, and cultural beliefs by which, statistically speaking, the majority of the individuals in a community finally abide, and if by Reason one does not intend only theoretical thought and practical enterprise, but, more generally, the principle of consistency in life and thought, then the war between the two, with Nature winning most of the battles, is certainly not a peculiarity of Southern dereliction and inertia. It dominates the Italian scene, and it is particularly visible in the narrative literature of today, when practically everybody claims to be a "realist," that is to convey a definite experience rather than a literary mood.

In Italy, literary traditionalism is, of course, part of nature. To the sensibility of most Italian readers and critics, an accomplished literary form still is the most convincing proof that the writer is dealing with reality. Hence, for example, in Miss Ortese's book, the critics have highly praised the two short stories, while tending to dismiss the straightforward descriptions of Neapolitan life which constitute the real merit of the volume. The joke is that the short stories (one about a poor shortsighted little girl who puts on a pair of glasses for the first time, and sees a world which, as her aunt puts it "one had better not see," the other about a melancholy spinster who on Christmas day, nurtures for a moment the hope of getting married, but cannot quite get excited about it, and finally dismisses it) are nice pieces of writing, while the descriptions are often-marred by "neorealistic" emphasis. Which does not prevent the short stories from being sentimental anecdotes, while the journalistic accounts are pieces of passionate and forceful writing.

Speaking of the struggle between nature and reason, a case in point is the excellent novel by Giese Rimanelli, *Tiro al piccione* (*Pigeon-shooting,* was the term used by the partisans during the war to designate their ambushes against the Fascist Black Brigade, whose insignia was the Roman eagle: the "pigeon"). This is the first good literary account of the Resistance war seen from the Fascist camp. It tells without any fuss the story of a seventeen-year-old boy who, in 1943, sees in the German trucks that roll north through his home town going north just a chance to escape from the family, an uneasy love affair, and tedium. In the north, he ends up by enlisting in the Black Brigades; not because he believes in the Fascist cause, but just because there is little else to be done. Ambushes, massacres, cold-blooded killing, terrorism, plus a love affair with an army nurse, are what the young man gets in the way of "sentimental education" and "reason."

He is in a constant state of disgust, and yet he goes on, simply because he has found a couple of comrades there, and killing (or being killed) on one side seems to him very much the same as killing (or being killed) on the other. What is revolted, in him, is "nature," not an idea: the inhumanity and senselessness of a fratricidal struggle into whose causes he does not care to inquire. What irritates him about the Fascists is their incapacity to see that they are defeated anyway, so that their cruelty becomes doubly senseless. On the other hand, what makes him suspect that the partisans' cause makes some sense is the fact that they are obviously on the winning side. This is as far as his reason goes. As for his nature, it tells him that making love is better than killing, friendship more satisfying than enmity, peace more desirable than war; above all, that all men have a mother, hence the mothers' point of view is the only universal one.

These, and especially the last one, are classic tenets of Italian "natural" morality. In ordinary times, they might not mean much; but in moments of upheaval and mechanized ferocity, they appear as the most precious heritage of "nature" precisely. When everything else is shattered, they remain, and they

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are effective, people actually abide by them. It is to this morality that Romanelli's here finally surrenders when, after the Fascist rout, he goes back into the folds of the family. The prodigal son. Which is as it should be.

The reader, however, feels somewhat frustrated, as if all that had happened in the meantime had been a bad dream rather than a tragic experience. Artistically speaking, the young man who, one night blindly decided to take his life into his own hands, was real, a hero of our time. The prodigal son returned home is just "normal." What next? There are signs in the book, that the young man is drifting in the direction of the Communist religion. But one knows that, in any case, this is a secondary issue, since the real catharsis of the drama has already occurred the moment the harassed hero has embraced his mother and sat at the family table.

Together with Miss Ortese's book on Naples, the jury of the Viareggio Prize has brought to the attention of the reading public an account of the retreat from Russia, *Il sergente nella neve (The Sergeant in the Snow)* by Mario Rigoni Stern. It is the real story, told in the first person, of the endurance, the sufferings, the calm courage, of a sergeant of the Alpine troops and his comrades from the moment of the Russian counter-offensive on the Don, which broke their lines, to their arrival to safety after a month of terrible march through the frozen steppe and several desperate battles to break through encirclement by the Russians. An extremely honest document. Sergeant Rigoni, his soldiers and officers are very attractive individuals, in addition to being sturdy and courageous soldiers.

The book is also a straightforward testimony in favor of Italian "natural" morality and humaneness. Rigoni has great sympathy for the Russian people; he understands that he is waging an unjust war on them, does not like it, but, of course, has no choice but to perform his duty as scrupulously as he can. The march, the suffering, the sticking together as the army disintegrates, the hopeless battles, are all parts of a job that has to be done. Inhumanity isn't.

What happened to Rigoni in the Russian village of Nikolaievka could have happened in precisely that way only to an Italian. Rigoni and the remnants of his battalion had been fighting the whole day, and it had been a massacre. Only twenty of them were left, with no ammunition. The Russians were all around them. To try to get some food, Rigoni knocked at the door of an *izba.* The door opened. Inside sitting at a table there were Russian soldiers, eating; women were serving them. The Russians were armed, Rigoni was armed too. He remained on the doorstep, frozen; then he announced in Russian that he was hungry. One of the women gave him a plate of soup. He ate, said "Thanks," and turned about to leave. The Russians did not budge. The woman who had served him took him to the door. Near the door, Rigoni noticed some beehives: he asked the woman for some honey to take to his comrades. The woman gave it to him and the Italian invader left. "For once," he comments, "circumstances had led men to act just like men."

Natural morality, which war, and history in general, violate for their own abstract motives, had asserted itself. To an Italian, such occurrences are the equivalent of a religious revelation, in fact they are even more convincing. However, he knows that while they are both the expression of an eternal truth, they are also exceptional. Real life is absurdly impervious to "natural" morality. For Sergeant Rigoni the unfortunate soldier of the Russian campaign, reality seems to have been limited by two orders of facts: one was his battalion, kept together by the peculiarly strong *esprit de corps* which characterizes Italian Alpine troops. This meant that particular job of war that had to be done by him and his comrades. The other dominant fact was nostalgia for the native mountain village. The rest, war in general, its causes, the ideological conflicts connected with it, and even the Italian army at large, were just abstractions to be best ignored.

This finally makes of his book, for all his honesty and realism, a piece of regional, if not sectional, literature. In fact, the reactions and the behavior of a Neapolitan infantryman would have been very different from Rigoni's. The natural morality, however, would have been very much the same although felt and practiced in a different fashion. The Neapolitan, that is, might have been sloppy, hysterical and cowardly, whereas Rigoni was efficient, level-headed, and courageous. But to him, too, war would have been just a violation of the natural order and inquiry into its causes a matter for highbrows; moral problems would have ended with the distinction between the "humans" and the "inhumans," and reason would have been either a question of practical expediency and ability, or else a scholastic notion.

Such a human and yet subtly disappointing (as if we were denied the whole truth), limitation of the intellectual and moral horizon, and of "reality" itself can be noticed even in a sophisticated writer like Mario Tobino. He is the author of several books, among them a long story on life under Fascism, *Bandiera Nera (Black Flag).* He has also written an excellent volume of memoirs about the war in Lybia, in which he participated as a Medical Corps officer. There Lieutenant Tobino had some bitter experiences of the weaknesses of the Italian character, and he does not mince his words in denouncing them.

As a civilian, he is psychiartist, in charge of the women's section of an important insane asylum near Lucca. In *Le libere donne di Magliano (The Free Women of Magliano)*, his latest book, Tobino recounts in the form of a loose journal his experiences with his patients, or rather he describes a number of them one by one, not as diseased individuals, but as strange, and sometimes quite touching, characters. Particularly successful is the portrait of one of these women, Lella, who had waited on him with passionate care for ten years, in relative freedom, and one day was sent back to her cell because it was discovered that she was hoarding in a crazy way all sorts of things, including money. Questioning the justice of the decision, Doctor Tobino gives his own interpretation of Lella's character, as motivated by an unbounded need for devotion. As long as she could show one of the doctors her exclusive love by serving him, she behaved quite sanely. Her troubles, the mania for hoarding and even stealing, started with the arrival to the asylum of a woman doctor in whom she saw a rival. At that moment, Tobino maintains, she was left without a God to serve, and she started stealing, and giving the money she stole to her brother. Human sympathy is what we all need, and humility in the face of what we do not understand; then, even madness can appear "natural." Could there be a nicer attitude for the harassed director of an insane asylum? Certainly not. Yet, in some way, for a

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writer and an intellectual who contemplates the monsters of madness, the appeal to sympathy, and the ability to describe the insane as "character," do not seem to be adequate answers to the problem.

If realism is the ability to render things as they are, without any literary embellishment, morality, or catharsis, then the most realistic piece of writing that has appeared this year in Italy is a non-literary document published by the magazine *Nuovi Argomenti,* edited by Alberto Moravia and Albert Carocci: the *Memoriale dal carcere (Memoirs from Jail)* by Saverio Montalto. It is the story of a man who killed his sister and wounded his wife and his brother-in-law, written by the man himself not for a literary magazine but for the judge of instruction. The man was a Sicilian town clerk, whose sister was seduced and then unwillingly married by a local small-time Don Juan. From that moment the nightmare that will lead to crime begins for Montalto. The acquired family starts torturing him as the inferior creature who succeeded in insinuating himself in a sphere where he does not belong. Not content with moral torture, they extort money from him, force him into debt and fearful subjection.

This is not enough: they coerce him to marry into the family, so that he can be more completely at their mercy. At the same time, his sister is continually beaten up by her husband, and treated as a servant by the rest of the family. Until, with an anguishing fatality that the reader senses from the beginning, crime comes, an outburst. The merciless narrowness of Italian provincial life has never been rendered with such raw power as in this attempt by a murderer to reconstruct the atmosphere, rather than the motives, of his crime.

Neither a realist nor a surrealist, Tommaso Landolfi occupies a place by himself in contemporary Italian literature. He is a self-conscious, extremely literary writer, yet there is simplicity as well as truth in his pages, since he is motivated not by literature but by an authentic mood. The mood is a despondency so complete that it takes up a romantic tinge. Despondency, the total inability to see any purpose in life, is, of course, contradicted by the very fact that one goes on living. It is the consciousness of this fact that is the source of Landolfi's special kind of irony. His latest book, *La biere du pecheur* (the French title, and the fact that it can mean "The beer of the fisherman" or "The bier of the sinner," at will, are typical of Landolfi's deliberate unseriousness) is a kind of aimless rambling, from descriptions of weary love affairs to a couple of first rate accounts of the author's only real passion, gambling.

Gambling is to Landolfi the most senseless, devilish, sinful passion of all. That is why it is also the most irresistible and significant. Yet, if it were made to seem serious, it would lose its true meaning, which is aimless automatism and conscious self-deception. In this, gambling is the symbol of all other passions, including love, and life itself; dreary and comical at the same time.

Other narrative books have appeared this year in Italy that would deserve some attention. Those that have been chosen here should, however, give the reader a sufficient idea of the complexities, and the limitations, of the "realistic" trend that dominates contemporary Italian narration.

THE ITALIAN THEATRE

by Eric Bentley

IN THE FIRST of a series of lectures organized by the University Fascist Youth in 1935, Pirandello called the Italian theatre "the first and most important theatre of the world." Yet in the previous year, at a world theatre conference in Rome (the Convegno Volta), the chief Italian spokesman, Silvio D'Amico, had, in effect, appealed to Mussolini to rescue this theatre from disaster. D'Amico quoted the American reporter Richard Watts as having said that the Duce had provided his country with great theatre by speaking from the balcony of Palazzo Venezia. If theatre could help the state in this way, couldn't the state help the theatre—with larger subsidies?

The contrast between the speeches of Pirandello and D'Amico dramatizes, I think, the contrast—baffling at first to the foreigner—in Italian theatre then and now: a contrast between what the brochures tell you and what you actually find, between what is professed by French students of *commedia dell' arte* and what you really see in Rome and Milan, between what the Italian theatre magazines blazon in print and what their editors confess in private. Here is a theatre which trumpets its own glories to the world and yet has been discussing for generations the question "Esiste un teatro italiano?" ("Does an Italian theatre exist?")

If the contrast I am talking about were merely that between a product as advertised and a product in itself as it really is, it would be of too simple a nature to require discussion. The fact is that the *gloires* are as real as the *misères,* Pirandello's claim as well-founded as D'Amico's demand. This is both the best and the worst theatre in the world.

The worst. Go to the average show by the average professional company, and you will find the standards of production lower than English repertory or American summer stock. The scenery is ragged, old-fashioned, and in bad taste. There seems to have been no director at all. The acting displays the rags and tatters of Victorian style; no wonder the film directors prefer people off the street.

Sometimes a company of considerable pretensions is no better. No American college dare present so feeble a representation of *Murder in the Cathedral* as was offered in Rome and throughout Italy by the grand old man of the Italian stage, the late Ruggero Ruggeri. Seeing this chorus I was reminded of what an Italian conductor told me about singers. "All our singers are soloists," he said, "Italians can't sing together." Whatever degree of collaboration existed among the members of the Eliot chorus might have been established by a one-minute conference before the performance started. Again: no production at all. Just Ruggeri standing stage center where he could see and hear the prompter. Sitting in the front rows you got the whole thing twice: once in the prompter's loud whisper, once in Ruggeri's quiet falsetto.

I don't mean that there was no distinction in Ruggeri's acting—or, say, in that of Emma Gramatica when she appeared in equally shabby productions of Pirandello and D'Annunzio a couple of years ago. It is only that the undoubted distinction is beset by a mediocrity that would be tolerated in no other country. And that there is a conspiracy of silence about it in the press. The critics either don't see it or won't risk hurting anyone's feelings.

One should perhaps include theatre criticism as among the worst features of Italian theatre. I have no idea

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whether any of it is, in a strict and legal sense, corrupt, as it is in some parts of Europe. My impression is that, on the contrary, it is deprived of all intellectual interest by a misguided good will which makes of the critic an assistant to the press agent. They are so busy encouraging every bad performance of every bad play that they remove the incentive to serious effort. It may be that Silvio D'Amico — still a central figure in Rome — is a partial exception to the rule, as was his Milanese opposite number Renato Simoni, who recently died. And the critic of the Communist paper *Unità* can be counted on for a measure of *social* criticism. (The keenest theatre criticism I know of in Italy was that of Antonio Gramsci and Piero Gobetti a generation ago; if there is nothing of the sort today, the rise of fascism and the degradation of Stalinism are responsible.) But the rule holds.

The best. When Pirandello called the Italian theatre the best he was boasting in the familiar manner of his Duce, whose "sacred renewal" of Italian life his lecture invokes. But he was also referring to the archetypal character of earlier Italian achievements in the theatre, most notably the *commedia dell'arte*. The Mussolini regime was not disposed to acknowledge where that sort of tradition most conspicuously survives today — namely, in the dialect theatre. Yet, for all the government's opposition to dialect, some of the greatest names of the fascist era are those of dialect artists: Angelo Musco the Sicilian (I suppose Grasso belongs primarily in the previous era), Petrolini the Roman comedian, and the three De Filippos. Only the De Filippos have survived into the present Demo-Christian era — one of them was a DC candidate at the recent election — but this is more than mere survival, for it was in the years following the fall of Mussolini that the greatest of them, Eduardo, came into his own as a playwright. The latest edition of D'Amico's history of drama is subtitled "From Aeschylus to Eduardo De Filippo". (D'Amico plays the part in Italy that Allardyce Nicoll has played in England, John Gassner in America, Josef Gregor in Austria.)

Whatever his relation to Aeschylus, Eduardo is one of the great artists of the contemporary theatre. Gordon Craig finds him the greatest living actor. He is certainly the leading Italian playwright. True, there are still those who would grant such a title only to a writer of the literary Italian language ("*lingua*"). Eduardo is nothing if not Neapolitan, yet, at that, his plays are not purely dialectal; he tends now to keep the pure dialect for the lower-class characters. His plays are toured all over Italy. One of them was the chief modern Italian exhibit at a Venice festival. Another has been a hit — in translation — in Paris. This last is *Filumena Marturano,* the tragi-comedy of a Neapolitan prostitute; if one has to suggest an analogue in our tradition, it must be O'Casey. It is not for the present writer to state whether such a play could ever succeed on the American stage as he is already at work on an American version.

The last play of Eduardo's that I saw was *Fear Number One* which is a comical treatment of our fear of the third world war. That and its predecessor *The Big Magic* showed Eduardo becoming increasingly reflective and even intellectual and therefore (for an Italian) Pirandellian. As played by himself, his sister Titina, and his admirable troupe, these plays continued to fascinate me, but whether the trend toward intellectuality is the right one for this author I would doubt. More probably, it is exactly analagous to Chaplin's later drift — a credit to an artist's earnestness but no boon to his art. Eduardo is "suspected" (if that is the word) of being the son of a great Neapolitan clown, Scarpetta. Gossip has it that his best scenes are lifted from the Mss. in his late father's trunk. Which is a story that ought to be true if it isn't. The roots of Eduardo are in Neapolitan fun and fantasy. Any branching out into world culture, modern philosophy, or the Aeschylean empyrean is likely to be papier-mâché.

I add a warning to Americans: do not judge Eduardo by his films, much less by other people's films in which he appears. We have seen the talent of American actors somehow evaporate before the camera's eye, and just that happens to Eduardo's genius. Even on the stage, his style is elusive. He is the opposite of "Italianate." Nothing operatic here. The tone is low, the gesture — by Italian standards — understated. Then again, there is a great deal to learn before one can appreciate him. The Italian stage does not have an Oriental "gesturology," but various provinces, and Naples in particular, have what amount to a system of gestures with accepted meanings.

The Teatro di Eduardo is all that is left of the greatness of dialect theatre. But since the war there have been notable achievements *in lingua.* Here, I believe, the outstanding personality is not a playwright (though some would nominate the late Ugo Betti) but a director: Luchino Visconti. The closest American analogue is Elia Kazan. Both Visconti and Kazan are, in a loose and perhaps also in a strict sense, decadent. They transfer to the stage their own frenetic nervosity; Visconti even tends to a certain surrealistic deliquescence. Like Kazan, he is saved from experimental messiness by sheer showmanship. It may be that his greatest contribution has nothing to do with a particular style but consists in the fact that he is a craftsman and a perfectionist. Having a good deal of money has doubtless helped; he is one of *the* Viscontis and a duke. His production of *Death of a Salesman* — a play that has pursued me from country to country—was the only one to match Kazan's; for a man who has never touched American soil (and never will unless the State Department reverses itself) an amazing feat of sympathetic imagination. As to his range, it is wider than the American director's has as yet shown itself to be. He is as much at home with Shakespeare and Alfieri as with Williams.

Neither best nor worst. Though Italian theatre tends to be pushed to the extremes of good and bad, it would be folly to pretend it has no middling middle. Many of the famous *spettacoli all'aperto* belong there, though the grandeur of a Higher Impresario may seem to raise them higher. Then again, the rashness of trying to rival God—if every prospect pleases and only man is vile — can put a show in the lower category.

Highest in the middle category I would put the Piccolo Teatro di Milano and next underneath it the Piccolo Teatro di Roma. Here, no doubt, the real achievement was to create a repertory, as against a touring, theatre at all. I am told that I was not lucky in my choice of shows. Certainly I saw much that was competent or interesting without being first-rate. I also saw one show at each theatre which belongs in the highest category: *The Raven* in Milan and *Six Characters* in Rome.

The outlook. The Italian theatre is government-subsidized, and by now the

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gigantic governmental apparatus, upset by the war, is working again. And there are three lavish magazines wholly devoted to theatre (as against the U.S.'s one): *Il Dramma, Teatro-Scenario,* and *Sipario.* The question is whether it can be done this way, "it" being The Thing We All Want To Do in the theatre now; I hesitate to define it; like God, "it" well deserves its vagueness. One's fear is that too much of the effort has been concentrated on the return to normalcy (i.e. 1939). On the other hand, there is *no* way of guaranteeing the appearance of young Salvinis and Duses, Pirandellos and Petrolinis. I am left with the classic conclusion of freshman theme and ladies' club lecture: Time Will Tell.

[P.S. The Italian Society of Authors in New York would like to inform *NR* readers that the doings of the Italian theatre are annually recorded in an *Annuario del teatro italiano* and also, now, in an *Almanacco dello spettacolo italiano.* Two other recent books are recommended: *Ritorno alla censura* by Vitaliano Brancati and *Spettacolo del secolo* by Vito Pandolfii.]

ITALIAN FILMS

by Parker Tyler

THE VITALITY of recent Italian films takes up the great impulse of *Bicycle Thief,* which came four years ago, and amplifies it to the level of a permanent revival. In regard to merit among films, one should be careful before rushing into print. What is good can momentarily seem better than it is because of its automatic contrast with the disheartening (omnipresent) average. But the good peasant blood of *Two Cents Worth of Hope,* a distinguished *genre* comedy that appeared early this year, has withstood the test of elapsed months. Now there are two items that define themselves as veritable peaks: *Strange Deception,* just premiered, and *Times Gone By,* currently opening—also, an efflorescence of Anna Magnani: a revival in herself.

The metaphor of the life-blood is very worthy of the Italian revival, whose first impetus followed the war. "Life-blood" expresses the values [saturation] of Curzio Malaparte's *Strange Deception,* which, without previous experience in the medium, the Italian novelist wrote and directed with amazing art, literally contributing his own music to what is a phenomenally "musical" treatment of motion pictures. Sound at the core and pure in flesh, the work in its full finesse can be appreciated only by lengthy analysis or actual experience of it. The hero, returning to his Tuscan village after ten years in a Russian prison camp, is in perfect health; as played by Raf Vallone, he is indeed the image of peasant dignity and natural nobility: the pure thinking earth that Prometheus fashioned.

Yet, with peace restored, Bruno has come home to kill. The man he wishes to kill is the unknown-to-him betrayer of his younger brother, caught and shot by the Germans for being a Partisan. Thus, Bruno—and this is Malaparte's distinctive insight—returns not as the mortal avenger whom Electra took in her arms, nor as those prized murderers who stalked the Elizabethan and French neo-Classic stages, but as their opposite: a kind of Frankenstein's monster, a dreaded alien. Everybody knows the "Judas"; no one, not even Bruno's own parents, will identify him. The reasons are beautifully unfolded by Malaparte as Bruno wanders over his village. Hidden behind the very air now breathed by the townsfolk is the imminence of that violence which they are striving to believe has been exiled by God's will and the world's. Branded with the sign of the killer, Bruno's spectre sullies the Feast of the Virgin and taints the ritual wine-pressing. This atmosphere, created very remarkably, is all the more eloquent in the medium of photography which reveals the light of day and everything in it so literally and starkly.

All Bruno's human relations — of family, love, and friendship—have become involved in his fatal quest. The traditional Game of the Cross, in which the sexton, carrying a large cross, satirically dares someone to be crucified there, fulfills a symbolic function in the action. It is the dilemma and trap of Orestes, oriented to Christian sacrifice and forgiveness rather than to Classic nemesis and its Eumenidean balance. A saintly friend of Bruno, a kind of *deus ex machina,* arises to work out the climax of his vendetta. The irony is profoundly imagined and poetically executed. Possibly *Strange Deception* is to be considered a morally controversial work but its impact seems powerful enough to provide a catharsis for ideology as well as for pity and terror. Bruno is spared his last, worst crime by a curious dislocation of his avenging thrust. His final tremendous cry against the fate of the innocent, who bear the chief burden of guilt, pierces to the narrow and induces "classical" tears.

The six episodes of *Times Gone By*—with a framing story, a balletic introduction, and a revue-like song number—runs from strict folk comedy to post-Ibsen domestic tragedy. Perhaps the most happily contrived of all "omnibus" films, its grace consists mostly in a forthright grasp of costume-feeling and a perished sense of manners, portrayed, as a rule, with nostalgic satire and a refreshing elegance. Therefore the formula elements and the conventional sentiment are materially toned down. Clinching the high rank of this file in the Italian revival is the final episode, a broad comedy called *The Trial of Phryne.* It is a brilliant instance of revamping a literary legend to re-illustrate modern life and restore natural vigor to a hale "paganism." That the natural vigor here is both sexual and esthetic may be suggested to those who recall that Phryne is that criminal beauty whose conviction before the ancient Athenian court, the Areopagus, was avoided by the inspired wit of her lawyer, who simply tore off her robe before the judges. The sight of her naked physical perfections exonerated her without more ado. Dealing with the town where, a self-confessed poisoner of her mother-in-law but as beautiful as she is simple-minded, this short film is masterly in spirit and execution. The director of *Bicycle Thief,* Vittorio de Sica, is a *tour-de-force* as "Phryne's" lawyer, and Gina Lollobrigidia brings as much intuitive rightness as visible loveliness to the role of "Phryne."

Anna Magnani is the only supreme actor-component of the Italian revival. Already seen here in *Open City, The Miracle,* and others, she is starred currently in *Bellissima* and *Volcano.* She is curiously "right" for film pantomine, and for a screen actress, her range is to be termed immense. She can *tower* and she can *subside,* and with infallible timing. Always the true weight is there: hers both individually and as a sex. Untunately, her vehicles are of uneven merit, internally and by comparison with each other. Her role in *Volcano* oddly recalls Sadie Thompson, to whose tradi-

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tional image Miss Magnani's first get-up bears a chilling resemblance. A sort of universal vulgarity spoils *Volcano*, the melodramatic tale of a forcibly retired streetwalker's innate nobility. But *Volcano*, like *Bellissima*, should be seen as a Magnani document. The latter gives the actress a superb opportunity to do her stuff and as such is the classic "star vehicle." C. Zavattini's story is ingeniously plausible as a portrait of the common people while its narrow range puts too much weight on the theme of a mother's obsession that her tiny daughter win a contest for a movie contract. The amusing action becomes anticlimatically tragic when the mother witnesses the impolite merriment caused by her child's screen test, intended to be serious; then, when the child wins the contest for being a laugh-getter, the mother declines the realization of her dream on the grounds that her daughter's success is inconsistent with human dignity. It is a provocative theme, explored interestingly but superficially. However, considering the way Hollywood would have presented it, one can do nothing but send up a prayer of thanks for Italy and Magnani.

CULTURE IN TRANSITION

by Piero Dorazio

THE ORIGINS of a new culture in Italy may be traced to the conflict which developed in the late nineteenth century between an old composite society and the democratic elements working against it. This conflict is still going on. The old society is represented by the Roman Church, which, clinging to the remains of its temporal power, is a strong force in Italian life. The conflict is often disguised as a struggle between Soviet Communism and the spiritual heritage of the West, as embodied in the Papacy. More probably, its origins are in the heterogeneous structure of Italian society, comprising as it does a complex modern industrial North and an agrarian South which is almost Etruscan in its simplicity. If the old society draws its strength from heavy industry, the landed aristocracy, and the church, the new culture is rooted in the peasantry, minor government officials, seasonal workers, in short, people in a state of economic and social instability.

During the period of Italian unification, most Italian artists were too parochial in their interests and too nationalistic to excite much interest abroad. This sterile period was followed at the turn of the century by a very rich one, dominated by Benedetto Croce, Luigi Pirandello, Giovanni Verga, and the Futurist painters and sculptors.

The new culture was, of course, blighted by Fascism. Antonio Gramsci, the brilliant ethical and political essayist, died in one of Mussolini's jails, and Carlo Rosseli, the most representative anti-Fascist leader, was murdered for his political books. A whole generation was, in effect, isolated from the rest of the world and from association with contemporary art. But the tradition of free thought was alive, and it was primarily from this influence that the resistance received its support during the war.

After the war, there was a great interest in foreign books in translation. The American realists — Faulkner, Hemingway, Dos Passos and Lewis — were popular, as were such European nonconformists as Mann, Sartre and Junger. After twenty years of virtual quarantine, the exponents of the new culture delighted in debating the merits of existentialism, psychoanalysis, twelve-tone music, cubism and expressionism, advanced concepts of city planning, and other movements which had matured without their participation.

The years 1946 and 1947 represented the beginning of a real renaissance, in which the progressive elements in Italy identified themselves with the liveliest minds abroad. The conflict, which they had thought of as an inframontane affair, seemed in fact to be a conflict between a new culture and an old Europe. The idea of a European Federation found early supporters among political writers like Altiero Spinelli and Aldo Garosci. The conformism which the Fascists had imposed on the mind seemed to have disappeared once and for all.

The fine new writers and the motion picture producers who came into prominence at about this time provided a critical analysis of Italian society, exposing its absurdities and pointing up its moral maladjustments.

This extraordinarily successful beginning has been followed by a period of disillusionment. The Cold War put a stop to strong international tendencies, and the conservative power, which was manifested by interference of the Church in the making of the new constitution contributed to a general confusion. The pessimism of George Orwell, Malraux and Koestler became popular, and the art of social responsibility came into conflict with *l'art pour l'art*.

The Roman Church and the Communists are equally vehement in their denunciation of works of art who do not attempt to portray an objective reality. The last exhibition of modern French and Italian painting in Rome was denounced as "obscene immorality" by the official Catholic paper, *Il Popolo*. The Communist critic called it "transocean cosmopolitanism serving Ridgway's program of war." In the confusion, the artistocrats, who choose their own taste, have again become patrons of new work, exhibiting revolutionary painting and sponsoring literary prizes. Giovanni Pavese, who could not conform to the standards of the Church, the Communists, or the aristocrats, committed suicide two years ago, and his tragedy is mirrored in the sterility of many of the younger writers.

In spite of this impasse, the new culture in Italy is continuing to produce, though its main contributions are in architecture, the visual arts, design and the film, rather than in literature.

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(Continued from page 15)

ness varies according to time and place. As one of our great educators recently observed, not many communities select its members from the lunatic fringe.

The basic reason for the avoidance of the teaching profession by those who are capable of intellectual leadership lies much deeper than low salaries, poor course offerings, and inadequate screening of candidates. It lies in a chaotic system of education, whose pattern is shaped, not for the betterment of society, but by self interest. And resulting equivocations are such that those best qualified to teach are those with little sensitivity, no intellectual independence, and only the mildest of ideas.

These seem to me the issues on which solution any efforts to obtain better teaching must rest:

1. Is education to train people for self-government? How in the framework of the schools can self-government be even approached?

2. Is the purpose of education to develop the mind? How can its leaders be unshackled from their fear of non-conformity?

3. Is the function of education to lead to a better social order? How can it be freed from those who wish to use it to maintain the *status quo*?

And most important of all, who is the really superior teacher? The one with the largest vocabulary? The one who scores highest in tests? Or the one who has found learning difficult, but who nevertheless has learned; who does not think quickly, but deeply and quietly, who has won no academic prizes, but has never failed to recognize and to try to meet human need?

Perhaps the ultimate remedy would be to put the schools back into the hands of the people, provided that there still is a functioning group fearless, independent, and free.

Los Angeles, Calif. EDITH SPRAGUE FIELD

(*Edith Sprague Field, now retired, was a high school teacher for 35 years.*)

► Although I must, as a teacher with 25 years experience on the High School and College level, support Peggy Moses' plea that we strive for teachers of greater academic achievement, I must also register my sharp disagreement with her position that, having succeeded, we have reached a *summum bonum*. To admit this is to negate what progressive education has striven toward for the past two decades—the emotionally balanced *as well as* the learned teacher; the happy *as well as* the informed student; the lively *as well as* the fact-ridden classroom.

The sensitive educator is today alert to the needs of the entire personality, not merely one facet of that personality—the intellect. He commends for example not only top grades in scholarship, but also genuine manual skill in the shop, the nobility of expression in music or in art, or success in meeting any of the challenging human-relations objections of our varied curricula. In the light of statistics on the nation's mental health (approximately 50 percent of our hospital beds are tenanted by the emotionally, not merely the physically, unfortunate), it seems to me very fortunate indeed that teachers are prepared to work toward a high E. Q. (Emotional Quotient) as well as toward a higher I. Q. (Intellectual Quotient). It seems to me a happy augury that Boards of Examiners all over the land are aiming, to license only those aspirants to teaching who can demonstrate that beyond attaining *mens sana in corpore sano*—they have attained emotional good health.

Surely Miss Moses will agree that some of the most dismal classes she herself attended were "taught" by instructors with intellectual gifts no less imposing than their degrees and their titles. Though this would hardly be reason for an indictment of academic training, *per se*, it should have opened her eyes to the fact that gifted teaching cannot be equated simply with a gifted intellect. It is because Miss Moses proceeded on this false premise that her otherwise informative editorial lost point.

New York City CHARLES G. SPIEGLER

► I feel that there are a number of misleading or incorrect statements in I. Peggy Moses' editorial, I wish to express my opinion in regard to two particular areas.

First, the implication that anti-intellectualism and progressive education are practically synonymous, and that both are simply the result of so many American teachers being poorly trained and themselves not intellectuals, is sheer nonsense. Many poorly trained and unscholarly persons are hired as teachers of American children, but they are not anti-intellectual. They are simply non-intellectual. As a result, they choose the easiest path and find refuge in teaching what they were taught as they were taught. They thus become the strongest supporters of the traditional curriculum and the traditional education which Mr. Bestor and Miss Moses ask us to return to. The non-intellectual teacher resents any change toward newer ideas and techniques of education which will remove the security of the textbook and the course of study, as well as removing the desk between the teacher and the pupils. Such change means more work, more effort, dynamic relationships, and changing and challenging problems, as the teacher deals with the pupils as people and not as empty cartons to be filled with subject matter. The formulation of modern ideas, methods and goals in education, as well as the support for them, comes from educational specialists and leaders. These men are intellectuals. They are Ph.D.s and Ed.D.s in education, not in history or business or science. They speak with authority as experts in their own field.

Second, these intellectual leaders in the field of education can only be called anti-intellectual in ignorance. They simply recognize—the failure of the traditional program of education. They are willing to utilize the ever increasing knowledge concerning teaching and learning based on educational research, to continuously review, modify and improve the experiences which children shall have under the guidance of the school. They recognize the importance of intellectual training, but not its exclusive importance in education. Hitler's Germany clearly illustrates the shortcomings of a merely intellectually well-trained population in today's world. We must teach social responsibility, emotional and ethical and esthetic development, as well as self-understanding and the ability to solve one's own problems before we can be satisfied that the school has done all it can to produce adults capable of living in today's world.

If modern education has been poorly practiced in places, the blame may rightly be placed on the profession and upon the society which determines how much the children are worth (as compared, say, to alcohol, cosmetics or tobacco). However, it is a serious mistake to condemn the educational ideas and practices themselves on these grounds.

New York City SAMUEL COHEN

► Professor Moses' statement, that "there has been no attempt to raise the quality of the nation's teachers" is incorrect. Progress has been made in recent years throughout the country not only in raising standards of teacher certification and improving teacher education programs in institutions of higher learning, but also in pre-service teacher selection. One example of such progress is the selective admissions program initiated four years ago in the College of Education at the University of Florida. As a result of this program the median percentile rank of the student body of that college has risen from 36 to 72 on a standardized English test given to all high school seniors in the state under the direction of the University of Florida Board of Examiners. The median score in the area

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of psychological adjustment has risen from the 55th percentile rank to the 70th, and in the area of mathematics, from the 70th to the 88th percentile rank.

Professor Moses quotes Arthur E. Bestor as having written in the January 19 *New Republic* that "an increasing number of public school administrators and educational theorists today refuse to define the purposes of the school in terms of intellectual training." Professor Moses seems to endorse this statement with the implication that administrators and educational theorists *should* be concerned only with the intellectual qualities of teachers. There are many who will take issue with this assumption. Administrators and educational theorists alike are concerned with the intellectual qualities of teachers but they are also very much concerned with other qualities such as personality traits, understanding of human growth and development and of the learning process, and methods of working with children. In other words, they are striving toward the goal of seeing that American children are taught by teachers who not only have intellectual ability but also have many other qualities that every parent desires to see in the person who is influencing the life of his child. The selective admission program in the University of Florida's College of Education also reflects the importance of these less tangible qualities. Before students are admitted to the college for their last two years of undergraduate work, they must take six semester hours of work in human growth and development taught by College of Education instructors. Here they are placed in small groups and observed for evidences of satisfactory personality qualities requisite for successful work with children as well as intellectual ability.

An analysis of the effectiveness of this admissions program reveals that during the last four years 39 percent of the students were denied admission to the college on the basis of their original application. One third of these students were later approved, but only after making up certain deficiencies under the guidance of the faculty. In the majority of cases, students lacked minimum intellectual qualities as judged by their performance during the first two years of college work. Others were disapproved for such things as personality traits, poor health, and lack of interest in educational work as evidenced by their behavior in working with children under the supervision of the College of Education staff. A recent survey by Thomas R. Horton, a graduate student at the University of Florida, and the author revealed that other colleges of education over the country have made similar strides in selective admission of students during the last several years.

No one would argue with Professor Moses concerning the deplorable situation which exists in our country relative to the sacrificing of standards of quality in order to staff our increasing number of classrooms with teachers. However, she failed to take cognizance of the fact that there is a growing feeling among educators, particularly classroom teachers, that standards of quality should not be lowered but that classrooms should be closed. When an aroused public realizes the adverse effect upon our children of having them exposed to unqualified teachers, this situation can and will be corrected. It is one that demands the immediate attention of all informed citizens.

Few, if any, would quarrel with Professor Moses over the statement that higher salaries alone cannot cure all of the ills of American public education; however, we have better teachers today because salaries have been increased. The American public must realize that high quality leadership in the classrooms of our public schools cost money.

No one would take issue with Professor Moses' assumption that our educational program needs improvement; however, such words as "anti intellectualism" and "apathy" do not describe accurately American public education or American professional educators. If we are to make rapid headway in improving our educational program it would be wise to build upon the progress that is being made.

ROBERT O. STRIPLING

(*Mr. Stripling is Associate Professor of Education and Co-ordinator of Educational Placement of the Univerity of Florida.*)

[The columns regularly scheduled for pages 22 and 23 have been held over in order to print the above letters.]

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